

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 LISBON 05007 01 OF 03 301110Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06
EB-07 TRSE-00 /065 W
-----006813 301128Z /12

R 300853Z JUN 77
FM AMEMBASSY LISBON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1967
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMCONSUL OPOROT
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMCONSUL PONTA DELGADA
USMISSION NATO
DIA WASHDC
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GER

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 LISBON 5007

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PGOV PINT PO
SUBJECT: PRESIDENT EANES'S FIRST YEAR: AN ASSESSMENT

SUMMARY: PRESIDENT EANES CAN POINT TO A STRING OF SOLID ACCOMPLISHMENTS DURING HIS FIRST YEAR IN OFFICE. HE HAS STRENGTHENED DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS AND MOVED THE MILITARY OUT OF POLITICS. IN THE COMING YEAR, THE PRESIDENT WILL FACE MOUNTING PRESSURES TO TAKE CHARGE OF THE POLITICAL PROCESS. THUS FAR HE HAS RESISTED SUCH PRESSURES WHILE PRESSING FOR IMPROVED GOVERNMENT EFFICIENCY. WE BELIEVE HE WILL CONTINUE TO DO SO. END SUMMARY.

1. BUILDING THE RECORD: ON JULY 14, PRESIDENT RAMALHO EANES WILL COMPLETE HIS FIRST YEAR IN OFFICE. DURING THE
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 LISBON 05007 01 OF 03 301110Z

PAST TWELVE MONTHS, HE CAN POINT TO A STRING OF SOLID ACCOMPLISHMENTS:
-- HE HAS BROUGHT DISCIPLINE AND A SENSE OF HIERARCHY BACK TO THE ARMED FORCES; HE IS MOVING THE ARMED FORCES OUT OF POLITICS; THE REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL HAS BEEN TAMED.
-- HE HAS CONTRIBUTED TO THE STRENGTHENING OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS
.

-- HE HAS MODERATED DIFFERENCES AMONG COMPETING POLITICAL FORCES AND IS ACTIVELY SEEKING NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CONSENSUS.
-- HE HAS THROWN THE FULL WEIGHT OF HIS OFFICE BEHIND PORTUGAL'S SEARCH FOR A NEW NATIONAL IDENTITY AS A PART OF EUROPE AND AS AN ACCEPTED PARTNER IN THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE.
-- HE HAS MADE TWO SUCCESSFUL VENTURES INTO INTERNATIONAL DIPLOMACY, FIRST AT THE LONDON NATO SUMMIT AND MORE RECENTLY IN MADRID. MORE TRIPS ARE PLANNED.
-- HE HAS ASSURED THE GOVERNMENT OF SUFFICIENT AUTHORITY TO MAKE ITS ACTIONS STICK.
BUT THERE HAVE ALSO BEEN DISAPPOINTMENTS:
-- THE ECONOMY REMAINS SLUGGISH; THE RECOVERY PROCESS IS MOVING MORE SLOWLY THAN THE PRESIDENT WOULD LIKE.
-- THE BUREAUCRACY IS INEFFICIENT AND UNRESPONSIVE, WITH NO SOLUTION IN SIGHT.
-- A WIDE GAP STILL SEPARATED THE DEMOCRATIC PARTIES.

2. DISCIPLINING THE MILITARY: PRESIDENT EANES, AS COMMANDER IN CHIEF, HAS REGISTERED PERHAPS HIS MOST IMPRESSIVE PERFORMANCE. HE HAS MOVED THE ARMED FORCES WELL ALONG IN THE PAINFUL PROCESS OF SHIFTING FROM PROSECUTION OF AN UNPOPULAR COLONIAL WAR IN AFRICA TO THE BUILDING OF A LEAN, MODERN FORCE WITH A NATO MISSION. COMMITMENTS FROM OTHER ALLIANCE MEMBERS TO PROVIDE EQUIPMENT FOR THE PORTUGUESE NATO-COMMITTED
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 LISBON 05007 01 OF 03 301110Z

BRIGADE HAVE BEEN AN IMPORTANT FACTOR IN KEEPING THINGS ON TRACK. THROUGH THE PLACEMENT IN KEY POSITIONS OF COMPETENT OFFICERS WHO ENJOY HIS FULL CONFIDENCE EANES HAS ASSURED HIMSELF OF THE REINS OF CONTROL. THE REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL IS NO LONGER A COMPETING POWER CENTER. ALTHOUGH CONSTITUTIONALLY IT RETAINS ITS STATUS AS AN "ORGAN OF SOVEREIGNTY," IN PRACTICE THE COUNCIL SERVES AS LITTLE MORE THAN A MILITARY DEBATING SOCIETY AND A FORUM FOR THE RATIFICATION OF DECISIONS PREVIOUSLY ARRIVED AT BY THE PRESIDENT AND THE CHIEFS OF THE THREE SERVICES.

3. HEAT IN THE KITCHEN: THE PRESIDENT HAS BEEN SUBJECTED TO STEADY PRESSURES ACROSS THE POLITICAL SPECTRUM.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 LISBON 05007 02 OF 03 301116Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06
EB-07 TRSE-00 /065 W
-----006852 301128Z /12

R 300853Z JUN 77
FM AMEMBASSY LISBON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1968
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMCONSUL OPORTO
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMCONSUL PONTA DELGADA
USMISSION NATO
DIA WASHDC
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GER

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 LISBON 5007

-- THE CONSERVATIVE COLONELS: ELEMENTS WITHIN THE
MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT BELIEVE THE NOVEMBER 1975
COUNTER-COUP DID NOT GO NEARLY FAR ENOUGH. THE
COMMUNISTS AND THEIR IMPATIENT FAR-LEFT ASSOCIATES WERE
STOPPED IN THEIR TRACKS. BUT SOME CONSERVATIVE OFFICERS
--EGGED ON BY ULTRAS LIKE KAULZA DE ARRIAGA AND RIGHT
WING ORGANIZATIONS LIKE MIRN, PAP, AND IOR -- WOULD HAVE
LIKE TO ROLL THEM UP ENTIRELY. THESE OFFICERS, WHILE
RELATIVELY FEW IN NUMBER, INCLUDE SOME HEAVY HITTERS LIKE
COL. SOARES CARNEIRO, UNTIL RECENTLY A MEMBER OF THE EANES
INNER CIRCLE.

-- THE DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION: EVEN BEFORE EANES TOOK
THE OATH OF OFFICE, THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS AND THE CENTER
DEMOCRATS WERE VYING FOR HIS FAVOR. PSD LEADER SA
CARNEIRO, IT WILL BE RECALLED, SOUGHT TO PREEMPT THE
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 LISBON 05007 02 OF 03 301116Z

FIELD BY PROCLAIMING HIS PARTY'S ENDORSEMENT OF THE EANES
CANDIDACY WELL BEFORE THE FUTURE PRESIDENT HAD FORMALLY
ANNOUNCED. THE CDS SUBSEQUENTLY CHIMED IN WITH ITS
THESIS OF THE "PRESIDENTIAL MAJORITY," STAKING A CLAIM
TO A ROLE IN THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS FOR THE CDS AND
PSD AS WELL AS THE GOVERNING SOCIALISTS. AND THE

DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION HAS CONTINUED TO PRESS THE POINT. THE MANNER IN WHICH BOTH THE CDS AND PSD JUMPED ON THE PRESIDENT'S APRIL 25 SPEECH AS AN IMPLIED ENDORSEMENT OF THEIR EFFORTS TO FORCE AN ACCOMMODATION UPON THE SOCIALISTS IS BUT THE MOST RECENT EXAMPLE.

-- THE GOVERNING SOCIALISTS: PRIME MINISTER SOARES AND THE SOCIALIST PARTY LEADERSHIP HAVE LIKEWISE DONE THEIR BEST TO PIN A PS LABEL ON THE PRESIDENT. THE SOCIALISTS HAVE REPEATEDLY STRESSED THAT EANES WAS ELECTED PRIMARILY WITH THEIR SUPPORT. SOARES, TO UNDERSCORE HIS CLOSE TIES TO EANES, HAS PUBLICLY STATED THAT HE WOULD RESIGN THE DAY HE NO LONGER ENJOYED THE PRESIDENT'S FULL CONFIDENCE.

-- THE CAUTIOUS COMMUNISTS: FEARING THE WORST FOLLOWING THEIR NOVEMBER 1975 DISASTER, THE COMMUNISTS HAVE KEPT THEIR HEADS DOWN. ONLY OCCASSIONALLY HAVE THEY TESTED THE RESOLVE OF THE AUTHORITIES. AND FINDING IT FIRM THEY HAVE SHIED AWAY FROM SERIOUS CONFRONTATION. CUNHAL AND HIS COMRADES HAVE GENERALLY CONTENTED THEMSELVES WITH MUSCLE-FLEXING DEMONSTRATIONS AND CAREFULLY-ORCHESTRATED DISPLAYS OF THE PARTY'S SUPERIOR ORGANIZATIONAL SKILLS. THE NOVEMBER 1976 PARTY CONGRESS AND, MORE RECENTLY, THE PCP NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE ECONOMY ARE PROMINENT EXAMPLES. BUT TIMES MAY BE CHANGING. WHEN CORNERED THE COMMUNISTS WILL FIGHT. THEY WILL TENACIOUSLY DEFEND THEIR DOMINANT POSITION IN THE TRADE UNIONS AND THE RURAL ALENTEJO. EANES HAS REJECTED CUNHAL'S PRSSURE TACTICS, EXPECTS

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 LISBON 05007 02 OF 03 301116Z

HIM TO INCREASE THE PRESSURE, BUT FEELS INCREASINGLY CONFIDENT HE CAN DEAL WITH WHATEVER CUNHAL HAS IN STORE.

4. THE COMMON DENOMINATOR: THE PRESSURES ON THE PRESIDENT--WHETHER FROM LEFT, RIGHT, OR CENTER--HAVE A COMMON THEME. ALL SEEK GREATER ACCESS TO POWER THROUGH THE PRESIDENCY. THE PRESIDENT HAS WISELY RESISTED INTERVENTION, EXCEPT ON HIS OWN TERMS. BUT THE PRESSURES ARE MOUNTING INVERSE PROPORTION TO THE HEALTH OF THE ECONOMY. AND INCREASINGLY THEY HAVE A COMMON TARGET--THE GOVERNMENT. EANES'S PERSONAL RELATIONS WITH SOARES ARE EXCELLENT. THE TWO MEN COMPLEMENT ON ANOTHER PERFECTLY: EANES THE QUIET, FORCEFUL MILITARY MAN; SOARES THE CONSUMMATE POLITICIAN, NEVER AT A LOSS FOR WORDS. AT THE STAFF LEVEL, HOWEVER, THERE IS EVIDENCE OF STRESS AND STRAIN. PRIVATELY, THE STAFFS OF EACH MAN COMPLAIN ABOUT THEIR COUNTERPARTS. ON THE ISSUE OF EFFICIENCY, HOWEVER, THERE IS LITTLE DISAGREEMENT. THE PRESIDENT AND THE DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION AGREE THAT THE GOVERNMENT MUST OPERATE MORE EFFICIENTLY IF THE ECONOMY IS TO RECOVER. AND SOARES ACCEPTS THE POINT.

5. FUTURE PROSPECTS: IF CHANGE IN THE GOVERNMENT COMES, AND IT WILL, IT WILL LIKELY OCCUR IN ONE OF TWO WAYS. -- A SOCIALIST SCHISM?: PRESSURES WITHIN THE SOCIALIST PARTY COULD REDUCE THE COHESION WITHIN THE PARTY TO SUCH AN EXTENT THAT IT NO LONGER HAD THE CAPACITY TO GOVERN. THE OUTWARD MANIFESTATION OF BREAKDOWN WOULD A COLLAPSE OF PARTY DISCIPLINE DURING UPCOMING VOTES ON KEY ECONOMIC LEGISLATION, PARTICULARLY THE GOVERNMENT'S AGRARIAN

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 LISBON 05007 03 OF 03 301126Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06
EB-07 TRSE-00 /065 W
-----006997 301128Z /12

R 300853Z JUN 77
FM AMEMBASSY LISBON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1969
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMCONSUL OPORTO
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMCONSUL PONTA DELGADA
USMISSION NATO
DIA WASHDC
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GER

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 3 LISBON 5007

REFORM PROPOSALS.
-- PRESIDENTIAL PRESSURES: MORE LIKELY, HOWEVER, CHANGE WILL TAKE PLACE AS A RESULT OF CONTINUED PUSHING BY THE PRESIDENT. EANES AND HIS TOP STAFF ARE CONVINCED THAT SOARES AND THE SOCIALISTS ARE CURRENTLY THE BEST AVAILABLE ALTERNATIVE. EANES INSIDERS ACKNOWLEDGE THAT A COALITION TO THE RIGHT OF THE SOCIALISTS IS NOT VIABLE; A GRAND COALITION, BRINGING TOGETHER THE THREE MAJOR DEMOCRATIC PARTIES, IS NOT REASIBLE; AND, FOR EANES, A SOCIALIST-COMMUNIST "MAJORITY OF THE LEFT" IS UNTHINKABLE.

6. THE PRESIDENTIAL PERSPECTIVE: THE PRESIDENT'S

SHORT-TERM OBJECTIVE IS TO IMPROVE THE EFFICIENCY OF
THE GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS TO ENABLE THE PRIORITY TASK OF
ECONOMIC RECOVERY TO PROCEED APACE. THIS IMPLIES
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 LISBON 05007 03 OF 03 301126Z

CONTINUED PRODDING OF THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE
GOVERNMENT AND INTENSIFIED EFFORTS TO SHORE-UP WEAK
SPOTS AND STREAMLINE THE BUREAUCRACY. IN THE LONGER
TERM THE MEN AROUND THE PRESIDENT WOULD LIKE TO SEE A NEW
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC GROUPING OF THE CENTER, BRINGING TOGETHER
LIKE-MINDED SOCIAL DEMOCRATS, SOCIALISTS, AND INDEPENDENTS.

7. A MAN TRANSFORMED?: EANES, THE MAN, HAS EVOLVED
HE MADE SOME SNAP JUDGEMENTS AND DEMONSTRATED HYPER-
SENSITIVITY CONSIDERABLY DURING THE PAST TWELVE MONTHS.
ON AZOREAN MATTERS; HE HAS YET TO DISPLAY A NATURAL
POLITICAL FLAIR. BUT HE HAS GROWN AND DEVELOPED. HE HAS
COLLECTED AN EXCELLENT STAFF AND BEEN EXPOSED TO A CRAM COURSE
IN POLITICS. HE IS NOTICEABLY MORE RELAXED IN PUBLIC. HE
KISSES BABIES AND OCCASIONALLY EVEN SMILES. BUT ONLY
OCCASIONALLY. IN MANY RESPECTS HE IS STILL THE
SAME--AN INTROSPECTIVE, EVEN SHY MAN, INCREASINGLY
CONFIDENT IN THE EXERCISE OF POWER BUT STILL UNCOMFORTABLE
WITH ITS TRAPPINGS. IN THE MONTHS AHEAD HE WILL
UNDOUBTEDLY PLAY A MORE ASSERTIVE ROLE. THAT IS ALMOST
INEVITABLE GIVEN PORTUGAL'S SEMI-PRESIDENTIAL SYSTEM
AND THE LACK OF CONSENSUS AMONG THE POLITICAL PARTIES.
BUT EANES IS NO MAN ON HORSEBACK. AND THOSE WHO WOULD
LIKE TO RIDE TO POWER WITH HIM BY CIRCUMVENTING THE
CONSTITUTION ARE LIKELY TO CONTINUE TO BE DISAPPOINTED.

8. DRAWING THE BALANCE: EANES HAS PUT TOGETHER A GOOD,
IN SOME WAYS REMARKABLE, FIRST-YEAR PERFORMANCE. HE HAS
KNOWN WHEN TO ACT AND, AT TIMES MORE IMPORTANTLY, WHEN NOT
TO ACT. THE COMING YEAR WILL BE MORE DEMANDING; EANES WILL
FACE EVEN GREATER PRESSURES TO INTERVENE MORE DIRECTLY
AND PERHAPS TO JETTISON CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT. THUS
FAR HE HAS RESISTED SUCH PRESSURES WHILE PRESSING FOR IMPROVED
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 LISBON 05007 03 OF 03 301126Z

GOVERNMENT EFFICIENCY. WE BELIEVE HE WILL CONTINUE TO DO SO.
CARLUCCI

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PRESIDENT, GOVERNMENT REFORM, PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 30-Jun-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977LISBON05007
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770233-0913
Format: TEL
From: LISBON
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t1977063/aaaaacnw.tel
Line Count: 328
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 04796078-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 25-Jan-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2067297
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: PRESIDENT EANES'S FIRST YEAR: AN ASSESSMENT SUMMARY: PRESIDENT EANES CAN POINT TO A STRING OF SOLID ACCOMPLISHMENTS DURING HIS FIRST YEAR IN OFFICE.
TAGS: PGOV, PINT, PO, (EANES)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/04796078-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009